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THE
RIGHTS
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
CONSIDERED.
THE
ADMINISTRATION
AND
REGULATION
OF THE
COLONIES
EXPLODED.

AND

The Best MEANS recommended to make
the COLONIES most useful to the
MOTHER COUNTRY.

LONDON:

Printed for W. FLEXNEY, near Grays-Inn-Gate,
Holborn.

after O. L. S.

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LONDON:
Printed for W. F. ... near Gray's Inn-Court,
Hobart.



T H E

P R E F A C E.

PERHAPS there is not a truer Observation in the Course of human Affairs, than that of the best of Men, meeting with the worst of Treatment. The North American Colonists, who have turned a Wilderness into one of the finest Countries in the World, without any Expence to great Britain, till the Reduction of Louisbourg 1745, verify this observation; they have been, and now are, more serviceable and infinitely more valuable to the Mother Country, than the West India Colonies ever were,

or is in the Power of Art and Nature to make them, yet have the Northern Colonies, for more than thirty Years been deprived of the Benefits of their natural Produce by Sea and Land, their Fish, Lumber, &c. &c. &c. purchased with the Blood and Treasure of their Ancestors, of whom, and of whose Descendants it may with Truth be said, what with Wars with the Indians before, and since the French got among them, together with the Stratagems of their own degenerate Countrymen, the New-England Governments have hardly tasted the Sweets of Peace since they first landed on the Savage wilds of America; which, tho' fairly purchased of the Natives, they could not enjoy before they had subdued seven Nations. These Governments, though at a thousand Leagues distance, in the Wreck of Charters in Charles the Second's Reign, lost their's, notwithstanding it was all they had received from the Mother Country, for all their Expence of Labour, Blood and Money, and though another Charter was granted by King William and Queen Mary, it is scarce the Shadow of the First. At length a Scheme that had been long plotted against their Charter, was fortunately frustrated in 1721 by the indefatigable Pains of the ever to be admired Mr Dummer, their then Agent; in the year 1722, Governor Shute, left the Massachusetts

sets in a Miff, after he had informed the Board of Trade, “ that the Inhabitants in
 “ some Part of the Province worked up
 “ their Wool, and Flax, and made coarfe
 “ Sort for their own Use ; that they also
 “ Manufactured great Part of their Leather,
 “ that there were also Hatters in the Maritime
 “ Towns ; and that Six Iron Furnaces, and
 “ Nineteen Forges were set up for making
 “ Iron. In 1730, Colonel Dunbarr, informed them of making and exporting Hatts,
 “ and that it was with the greatest Diffi-
 “ culty he was able to procure true Infor-
 “ mation of the Trade, and Manufactures
 “ of New-England. This, he says will
 “ appear Extraordinary, when we acquaint
 “ your Lordships, *that the Assembly of the*
 “ *Massachusetts Bay, had the Boldness to summon*
 “ *Mr Jeremiah Dunbar Deputy Surveyor of*
 “ *the Woods, before them, and pass a severe*
 “ *Censure upon him for having given evidence*
 “ *at the Bar of the House of Commons with*
 “ *Respect to the Trade and Manufactures of*
 “ *the Province.*” If these Informations from Governor Shute, and Colonel Dunbar, had not been inserted in the Publick Papers so late as November 1764, neither the Informers, nor the Weavers, would have been here mentioned ; but, as it is as easy to shew their insignificancy, as it is to wink at the Quarter they came from, it is admitted,
 that

that the poor Inhabitants from the first Settlement of New-England have through Necessity been obliged to cloath themselves with a Coarse Sort of home spun Manufacture, or go naked. Hatters, there then were, and now are; and yet the daily exports of vast Quantities of Hatts from this Kingdom to the Northern Colonies, shew that the Colonists do not make enough to supply themselves. The Twenty Five Iron Furnaces, and Forges, complained of in 1719, were increased to double that Number in the Year 1751. Perhaps there may be an Administrator, and one or two more in the Kingdom, of wrong headed Experience, that in order to curb the Colonies, who might predict the Formation of some dreadful Crisis against the Mother Country, though she should be fully supplied with Iron from the Colonies, in return for British Manufactures consumed by them; and, that it might be better for Great Britain to continue to pay immense Sums annually in Cash to Foreigners for what Iron they might continue to Supply.

The Story of Mr Jeremiah Dunbar cannot be painted in better Colours than it is by Mr Otis in his Proof of the Rights of the Colonies, Page 54. "The scandalous Memorials and Depositions, that have been sometimes in Days of old privately
"cooked

“ cooked up in an Inquisitorial Manner, by
 “ Persons of bad Minds, and wicked Views,”
 sent from America to the several Boards, but
 Insignificant as these pretty Stories are, or
 bethought, they evidently shew the extreme
 Danger of Power being lodged in the Hands
 of such People, as have risen to high Life,
 from a low Station.

In the Year 1731, the Sugar Colonists
 combined together, and petitioned the
 Throne, against the pernicious Trade, (such
 was their good natured Appellation) carried
 on from the British Northern Colonies, to
 the Dutch and French Colonies, praying,
 that the Importation of foreign *Rum, Sugar,*
and Molasses; might not be permitted in the Co-
lonies, or, that the Sugar Islands might have
the like Advantages in those Branches of Com-
merce, with the Subjects of Foreign Power.
 Accordingly a Bill was twice brought into
 the House of Commons, twice passed, and
 was as often rejected by the House of Lords.
 The Islanders gave it up, as they pretended;
 their Stratagem succeeded; the Agents for
 the Northern Colonies did not attend the
 House of Lords. The Bill was brought
 in the third Time, and passed both Houses,
 when many of the leading Members were
 gone to their Country Seats!

In the Year 1764, a Pamphlet, entitled
 the Administration of the Colonies, was
 printed

Printed, and a very small Number of them sold at the Pamphlet Shops. This Pamphlet, is evidently calculated to introduce the Duties that were last Year laid on the Trade of the Colonies, though it is well known they have from their first Settlement taxed themselves for the civil and military Support of Government. The Officers of the Customs, and Surveyors of the Woods excepted, they being paid by the Crown—The Notice given the Government of Massachusetts by their Agent, touching the intended Taxation, seems to have been designedly disregarded, till it was too late to remonstrate against the Prejudice that such Duties would be to the Trade of the Colonists, and of the Mother Country.

In December last, soon after the Proof of the Rights of the Colonies by James Otis, Esq; was reprinted and published here, a new set of Customers were observed to attend the Coffee Houses connected with the Colonies; when any thing was mentioned relative to them, or the above Pamphlets—they cautiously condemned, or approved one or the other—Mr Otis, they said, had asserted many, and pointed out but few Mistakes in the Administration of the Colonies: Mr Otis was a sensible zealous Advocate—Some good Thoughts he has allowed the Administrator, though he agrees but one—These new Customers, affect to be greatly concerned for the Distress of the Colonies, that

that a Union with the Mother Country would help them—that the Administration of the Colonies represent the Colonists deserving of every Favour, and justly entitled to all the Privileges they enjoy, that, if the Author has now and then introduced a Spark of resentment, perhaps he may have been sowed by some of the Colonists—that Passion too often prevails against Reason—that all must allow his Exhibition to be a Work of much Study and Application, if the Author has been a Governor, it is probable he means to shew his Importance and obtain another Appointment—the same Person in a Rage Anathematizes him, for an odious time-serving, jesuitical Incendiary, that his Exhibition of the Colonies, consists of as many Suggestions, Allegations, Interrogations, and Repetitions, as a Bill in Chancery—that the most arrant new Light in the Kingdom would have been ashamed of such a prophetic enthusiastic Scrole—that he has spoke favourably of the Merit and Loyalty of the Colonists, to conceal his Views; which manifestly tend to abridge, or ruin their Constitution, &c. Wherefore that the unwary may be guarded against the Subtilty of these Reptiles—That Men of Business, &c. may give the Attention that the Importance of the Subject deserves, and that they may examine the Arguments

on both Sides---the striking Parts in the Administration of the Colonies, The Proofs of their Rights, by Mr Otis, and the Defence of their Charters, by Mr Dummer ; are here collected and brought into a narrow Compass, that the Reader may without too great an Expence of time, discern the unfavourable Symptoms and bad Tendency of the Innovations proposed by the unknown Administration of the Colonies.





THE
RIGHTS
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
CONSIDERED, &c.

For Forms of Government let Fools contest,
Whate'er is best administer'd is best. POPE.

HAVING carefully and candidly examined the Administration of the Colonies by comparing one Thing with another, and the whole together, with Mr Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters, printed in the Year 1721, and Rights of the British Colonies 1764, by Mr. Oris, (both in opposition to the new Doctrines of the Administrator) it seems to be

ex-

tremely evident, if he had been, as he declares himself to be, thoroughly sensible of the Danger of Innovation (though he might not have shewn such Depth of Erudition) he might have avoided Perplexities, and more clearly shewn the Benefits, and Importance of the Colonies, upon their constitutional Rights and Privileges, (see 2d Sheet) as pointing out such Impediments as might be thought necessary to be removed in order to extend their Trade, Navigation, and Fisheries, he ought to have formed such Plans, as are most likely to promote the growth of Hemp, Flax, Pot Ash, Deal, and various other valuable Staples, which do not interfere with those of the Mother Country--which she might pay the Colonist for with the British Manufactures instead of Cash that she now pays to Foreigners for these Articles. Such a Plan would have been of infinite more Concern than Prophecy, Prediction, or Apprehension of a Crisis *which is not in the Power of human Wisdom to oppose!* Upon such an Hypothesis, *what can it signify to mark the nascent State of things (A. page 4) which is not in the Power of human Wisdom to oppose?* How then is it possible without a supernatural Assistance, for the greatest Man living, to be duly possessed, and actuated by the Crisis of its Events (p. 5) it must be confessed, *this*

this is a Point above the Ken of common Men, and many other Doctrines there are in the Administrators Exhibition, as abstruse, and hard to reconcile ! That the Reader may more easily discern them, such as are most material are here inserted. Page 7, Administrator begs leave to be distinctly understood, that “ notwithstanding it be a
 “ fundamental Maxim and Law in every
 “ Kingdom and State, that the Trade of its
 “ respective Colonies should be confined
 “ solely to the Intercourse and Commerce
 “ of the Mother Country, *Such is the*
 “ *State, and such are the Circumstances of these*
 “ *Colonies universally, that without an absolute,*
 “ *and intire Infraction of this Principal, they*
 “ *would have neither any Trade, nor even Subsistence !* though this is the real State of the Colonies, yet the Administrator with an Excess of good Nature turns Informer against a Trade that had been carried on from the Colonies in Time of War, directly contrary to these Maxims; (the Monti Christi, is supposed to be meant) though several judgments have been given upon Appeal, at the Cockpit, in Favour of it. “ To enable the
 “ British Nations to profit by these Circumstances (p. 19) it is necessary, says the
 “ Administrator, that the Administration
 “ form itself at Home into such Establishment for the Direction of their Interests,
 “ and

“ and Powers, as may lead them in their
 “ natural Channel under due Connections
 “ with the Government, to the utmost
 “ they are capable of producing towards
 “ this grand Point (*if by this Point is meant
 the Interest of the Mother Country, there is
 hardly a Colonist that will not say Amen to it*) but
 “ of Plans that are vain and delusive, they
 “ hope whatever Department the general
 “ Direction may be under, such will not be
 “ pursued by those who are to discuss and
 “ regulate the great Atlantick American
 “ Trade, and whenever it is thought pro-
 “ per, it is hoped it will not be as the Ad-
 “ ministrator says) *it must be Sovereign and
 Supreme as to every Thing relating to it,*
 (a Doctrine this as simular as it may be to
 Provincial Mandates, and the whole Tenor
 of these Prophetick Predictions---and pleas-
 ing as it may be to the grand Turk and
 the French King---it must, and it is to be
 hoped ever will, be abhorrent to the King
 of Free born Subjects, whose Duty ought
 to lead them to obtain, as the Administrator
 has justly advised “ a thorough Knowledge
 “ of the State of Manufactures, Fisheries,
 “ Employment of the Poor, promoting the La-
 “ bour and Riches of the Country; by studying
 “ and advising every Advantage that can be
 “ made of every Event which arises in com-
 “ mercial Politics, every Remedy which can
 “ re.

*“ remove any Defect, or Obstruction officially
 “ to prepare every Provision or Revision ne-
 “ cessary in the Laws of Trade for the Consi-
 “ deration of Parliament, and to be the Con-
 “ ducter of such through the necessary Measures,
 “ is certainly an Office of State, if the Secre-
 “ tary of State so called is (p. 18). This Se-
 cretary of State is six different ways re-
 presented, which if the Honour of his Plan,
 had not been given to Lord Summers, there
 is not a Reader of it could have hesitated a
 Moment about the Fitness of the Administra-
 tor for this important Department that
 leads to Suppositions, Repetitions, Reports,
 Instructions, who are to receive, and issue
 Orders; what ought to be, and what some
 time or other must be done; “ for till an
 Officer for this Department, with all the
 “ Powers necessary thereto is appointed;
 “ the People of the Colonies who know their
 “ Business much better than we do, will never
 “ believe the Government in earnest about
 “ them (21). Knowing therefore that
 “ first or last the Nature of the King’s
 “ Service will require this Appointment,
 after repeated Suppositions that some time or
 other Matters will be settled according to
 his amazing Foresight — he resolves to
 proceed confining himself solely to the
 Matters of the Colonies—to Review some
 Points that deserve, and will require the
 Consideration of Government. New Objects
 of*

of Produce and Manufactures, to open new Channels of Commerce, for the Ease and Affluence of her Colonies, who have been, now are, and ever wish to continue, labouring under, and for the Mother Country, where all their external Profit center--This is an Interest dear to her, and as the Administrator says, an Object that deserves the best Care and Attention of Government; happy would it have been for the poor Colonists, if this had been the real Sentiments of the Author of the Administration of the Colonies, then it would not have been loaded with Duties, and perplexed with such predicted Mazes as is therein contained—which are as hard to unravel as it is to persuade Mankind they were wrote with an Intention to promote the Welfare of the British Empire, if it had been so, as the Author agrees with Mr. Dummer, he would have formed his Plan pursuant to his Thoughts, (p. 68.) viz. “ the only Interest of the People of the Colonies, is
 “ to thrive and flourish in their Trade,
 “ which is the true Interest of the Crown
 “ and Nation; because the Nation reap
 “ the Profit of it, and in p. 73. the Sum of
 “ Mr. Dummer’s Argument is, that the
 “ Benefit which Great Britain receives from
 “ the Plantations, arises from their Commerce”---and great they are, and the Bal-

Ballance will be found so, after all the
 necessary Charge and Expence of their
 Defence is deducted, by such as rightly un-
 derstand the Benefits and would pursue the
 Welfare of the Colonies---though the Ad-
 ministrator says, it has often been suggested
 that care should be taken in the Administra-
 tion of the Plantations, least in some future
 Time these Colonies should become inde-
 pendent of the Mother Country. But Per-
 haps it may be proper on this Occasion, nay
 it is Justice to say it, that if by becoming In-
 “ dependent is meant a Revolt, nothing is further
 “ from their Nature, their Interest, their Thoughts,
 “ then is a Defection from the Alliance of the
 “ Mother Country be suggested, it ought to be,
 “ and can truly be said that their Spirit abhors
 “ the Sense of such, their Attachment to the pro-
 “ testant Succession in the House of Hanover will
 “ ever stand unshaken; and nothing can eradicate
 “ from their Hearts their natural almost mecha-
 “ nical Affection to Great Britain, which they
 “ conceive under no other Sense, nor call by any
 “ other Name than that of home---the Support
 “ of the Merchants consisting in their Alliance
 “ with those of Great Britain (page 26) the
 “ Liberty and Religion of the Colonists incompa-
 “ tible with French, or Spanish Government,
 “ and their Knowledge that neither the Hope
 “ of Liberty, or Protection can be expected
 “ under the Dutch---no Circumstances of Trade
 C “ could

“ could tempt them thus to certain Ruin--
 “ Any such Suggestion therefore is false, and an
 “ unjust Aspersions on their Principles and Af-
 “ fection; and can arise from nothing but an
 “ intire Ignorance of their Circumstances.”

This being the general and real Character
 of the North Americans--the Reader is in-
 treated maturely to consider the subsequent
 Suggestion, and reconcile them if he can
 “ with the Administrator, viz. Yet again
 “ on the other hand, while they remain under
 “ the Support and Protection of the Governor
 “ of the Mother Country, while they profit by
 “ the beneficial Part of its Trade---while their
 “ Attachment to the present Royal Family stands
 “ firm, and their Alliance with the Mother
 “ Country is inviolable.”--“ It may be worth
 “ while to inquire whether they may not be-
 “ come and act independent of the Govern-
 “ ment and Laws of the Mother Country---
 “ and if any such Symptoms may be found ei-
 “ ther in their Government, Courts or Trade,
 “ perhaps it may be thought high time, even
 “ now to enquire how far these Colonies are
 “ or are not arrived, at this time, at an Inde-
 “ pendency of the Government of the Mo-
 “ ther Country. “ And if any Measure of
 “ such Independency formed upon Precedents
 “ unknown to the Government of the Mother
 “ Country was found to be so weak, or distracted
 “ at home; or so deeply engaged abroad in
 “ Europe,

“ Europe, as not to be able to attend to, and
 “ assert its Rights in America with its own
 “ People,” in this insidious Manner the
 Administrator proceeds from Suggestion,
 to Suggestion of what may happen and
 what must, concluding the Present to be
 the only Time for a Revival or Reversion
 of Charters, and turning the Colonies
 topsy turvy, there being, says the Admin-
 istrator, “ no doubt in the Theory of our Con-
 “ stitution of the King’s right in time of War
 “ and array, to exercise martial Law; and yet
 “ in Practice it has been found right (and could
 “ not otherwise be permitted) that this mar-
 “ tial Law should be confirmed by Parliament”
 (p. 30.) In answer to this Turkish Barba-
 rian Doctrine, Mr Otis in his Proofs of the
 Rights of the British Colonies, p. 75, ob-
 serves, “ that there is not any Danger of a
 “ Revolt even in the Opinion of the Author of
 “ the Administration, but that the Adminis-
 “ trator apprehends the Colonies will by Fraud
 “ or Forces avail themselves, in fact or in deed
 “ of an independent Legislature, which would
 “ be revolting with a Vengeance. What higher
 “ Revolt can there be than for a Province to
 “ assume the Right of an independent Legisla-
 “ ture or State? This is a greater Aspersions on
 “ the Colonists, than to charge them with a
 “ Design to Revolt, in the Sense in which the
 “ Gentlemen allows they have been abused: It

is a more artful and dangerous way of at-
 tacking our Liberties, than to charge us
 with being in open Rebellion, that could be
 confuted instantly: but this seeming indiscreet
 way of charging the Colonies with a Desire of
 throwing off their Independency, requires
 more Pains to confute it than the other, there-
 fore it has been recurred to. The truth is,
 Gentlemen have had Departments in Ameri-
 ca, the Functions of which they have not been
 fortunate in executing. The People have
 by these Means, been rendered uneasy at
 bad provincial Measures. They have
 been represented as Factionous, Seditious,
 and inclined to Democracy, whenever
 they have refused passive Obedience to provin-
 cial Mandates, as Arbitrary as those of a
 Turkish Bashaw. I say, Provincial Man-
 dates, for to the King and Parliament they
 have been submissive and obedient,
 (Otis, p. 76.) Notwithstanding the infidi-
 lous Insinuation of the Administrator, there
 is not in Nature a greater Absurdity than
 the Supposition of a Desire of Independency
 in the Colonies, or any thing more Extra-
 vagant or Irrational than such a Thought,
 even supposing the Mother Country to look
 tamely on a Disposition of that Tendency,
 the Expence of which would be infinitely
 more than the whole Colonies could Bear.
 The Power of the Militia by the Charter,
 was

was in the Hands of the Government so that all Judges, Justices and Sheriffs to whom the Execution of the Laws is intrusted, are nominated by the Governor with the Advice of his Council (by the refined Administrator called the Governor's Council of State) and the Governor has a Negative upon the Choice of Councillors peremptory and unlimited: not being obliged to render a Reason, nor restrained to any Number.—Dummer's Defence of the Charter Government p. 51. Mr Otis, p. 49, after having expressed the Power of the British Parliament in very strong Terms. Says it *“is from and under this very Power and its acts, and from the common Law, that the political and civil Rights of the Colonists are derived: and upon these grand Pillars of Liberty shall his Defence be rested.”* (p. 50.) The Administrator having recommended the Martial Law as most proper for the Government of the Colonies—proceeds with his tampering Activity to shew what is necessary to be done to maintain the Subordination of the Government of the Colonies to the Government of Great Britain (one Instance to the contrary let him if he can with the utmost stretch of his pervading Power produce) though there has not been as yet any Occasion for the Crown to call in the Power of the Legislature to interpose

terpose in the Case, to *regulate and define*
their Rights and Privileges; to establish and
order their Administration; and to direct the
Channels of their Commerce--- "Though the
 " *First* of these Measures should be in
 " strict Justice, the Crown's right--yet the
 " *Second is the only practicable one:* and al-
 " though the second as such, may most
 " likely be adopted" (A 31)--Yet the third is
 the only wise and sure Measure. What Occa-
 sion can there be for either of these Estab-
 lishments after more than one hundred and
 fifty Years experience of unexampled Loy-
 alty, Peace and Quietness---therefore the
 most natural Inference that can be made is this,
 that any Disputes, that have happened, have
 been occasioned by the Instructions that
 have been given the several Govern-
 ments not being agreeable to their va-
 rious Charters, Grants and Proprietaries,
 or in other Words, which may perhaps
 better suit the Temper of the Administrator
 --the Instructions to Governors have been
 too Impotent to command passive Obedience
 to provincial Mandates, which have incensed
 him to represent Millions of his Majesties
 loyal Colonists, as proper Subjects of Mi-
 litary Government, though not a Man of them
 ever permitted a rotten Oat to pass for a sound
 one in their Lives; if this is to be the Case of the
 Colonies, where is the Necessity to order its
 Mi-

Ministry to lay before Parliament *the Rights and Powers of the Crown: the Rights, Privileges and claims of the People*, with a general State “ of the Colonies, their Interest and “ Operations, as related to the Crown, as “ related to the Mother Country, her “ Laws and Government to foreign Powers and Interest, pointing out some general Plan of Government *Judicatory, Revenue, and Commerce*, (as hinted in the beginning of the Administrator) (32) leading to *the Repetition of Repetitions, of Governors Instructions, Martial Law, &c. &c. &c. &c.* so that for every Power, every Movement, (even for Fire, Air and Water, he should have said) the People will depend on the Government of Great Britain *and be guarded against forming any Principle of Coherence with each other, or of conspiring amongst themselves*; was there ever such an insidious Rhapsody! such an Inundation of Abuse! of the very People! that from Page 24 to 26 were the most deserving, dutiful and loyal; but he is like Haman, whose Malice nothing but the Destruction of the Jews could satiate; so nothing will appease the Wrath of this inexorable Administrator, but the Ruin of the Constitution of the Colonies (A.p. 34) “ *a Constitution that in his own Words is now* “ *under the best Form, the best Frame and* “ *Disposition of the Government of the Mo-* “ *ther*

the Country, and that there cannot be a
 Wiser Measure than to keep them all in the
 free and full Possession of their several Rights
 and Privileges, as by Grant, Charter or
 Commission given and in the full Exercise
 thereof, so far and no farther, than as de-
 rived therefrom, which is all that the Co-
 lonists ever desired, and all that they now
 plead for (35). Then follow "Repetition
 of Repetitions of Trade; Customs, Union,
 Communion and Subordination to the
 Mother Country, leading to the two
 great Points; which the Colonists labour
 to establish, the Exercise of their Rights and
 Privileges, as founded in the Rights of an En-
 glishman: and Secondly, what they suppose to
 be a necessary Measure in subordinate Govern-
 ment, the keeping in their own Hands the Com-
 mand of the Revenue, and the Pay of the Of-
 ficers of the Government as a Security for their
 Conduct towards them (36) under the First Head
 come all the Disputes about the King's Instruc-
 tions and the Governor's Power (37). The
 King's Commission to the Governor, its
 Power, Direction, Instruction and further
 Powers, Instructions and Authorities; the
 Rights and Privileges of the People as
 Englishmen, turned and overturned by
 the Administrator (39) to make the Peo-
 ple insist upon a full, free, independant,
 unrestrained Power and legislative Will
 " in

“ in their several Corporations, and under
 “ the King’s Commission and their respec-
 “ tive Charters,” (39). Mr. Otis, in his
 Proof of the Rights of the Colonies, page
 72, says it is a Mi take in this Author to
 bring so heavy a Charge as *High Treason*
 against some of the Colonists, which he does
 in Effect in this Place (p. 39.) by repre-
 senting them as “ claiming in fact the same
 “ full, free, independent, and unrestrained
 “ Power and legislative Will in their several
 “ Corporations and under the King’s Commis-
 “ sion, and their respective Charters, as the
 “ Government and Legislature of Great Britain
 “ hold by its Constitution and under the great
 “ Charter. No such Claim was ever thought
 “ of by any of the Colonists, they are all better
 “ Men and better Subjects; and many of
 “ them too well versed in the laws of na-
 “ ture and of Nations, and the Laws and
 “ Constitution of Great Britain, to think they
 “ have any right to more than a provincial sub-
 “ ordinate Legislative (37). The Adminis-
 “ trator (p. 42) waving the Doubts which
 “ the Colonists might raise, especially in the
 “ Charter Colonies, and not determining
 “ in what Points the Governor ought or
 “ ought not to be restrained from giving
 “ his Assent in Cases contrary only to In-
 “ structions and not to the Laws of Great
 “ Britain, let the Administration consider
 E “ the

the Effects of this Measure in Cases where
 Bills offered are so widely different as to
 the Mode, that no Agreement can ever
 be come to; *is the Government and Admini-*
nistration of the Government of the Colonies
to be suspended? artful as this Infina-
 tion is, the Administrator will be puzzled
 to point out any other Instances of this Na-
 ture, since the Dispute with Governor An-
 drews, except that with Governor Shute,
 touching his Right to put a Negative upon
 the Speaker, and that with Governor Bur-
 nit, touching the Settlement of the Gover-
 nor's Salary. The first has been long since
 settled by the Government, and the Latter
 has not been complained of since the Be-
 ginning of Governor Belcher's Administra-
 tion; so that there was no Occasion for
 the Administrator to rack his Invention, to
 teaze the Mother Country with imaginary
 Ills, and disgust the Inhabitants of so large
 a Continent, by turning Informer against
 them, upon Points that do not affect the
 Crown, or the Servants of it, so as to oc-
 casion any Complaint, as to the Manner of
 providing for the Support of Government.
 As to all the executive Officers of the Crown,
 the Administrator declares that the Freedom
 and Preservation of the Constitution require,
 that they *should be independent of the Legisla-*
tive; *more especially in popular Government,*
 " where

“ where the Legislature itself, is much influenced
 “ by the Humours and Passions of the People.
 (45, 46) Who, to their immortal Honour, have
 maintained the Character given them by the
 Administrator, p. 26, in refusing to fix the
 Governor's Salary; that the Legislature may
 not depend upon the Governor for his Ap-
 pointments; but that he may depend upon the
 Legislature, for an honourable Support, the
 Truth and Fitness of the Administrator's
 Principle in the British Constitution is al-
 lowed, where the executive Power of the
 Crown is immediately administered by the
 King's Majesty; but it widely differs when
 it is administered by his Majesty's Gover-
 nors, where there is no other Measure left the
 People to prevent the Misapplication of public
 Money by necessitous and rapacious Governors, as
 in fact, by large Experience they have found they
 have no natural, although they have a political
 Connection with the Country, as these Rea-
 sons are almost the same with those given
 in Mr Dummer's prudent and spirited De-
 fence of the New England Colonies; (p. 24
 of the Administration of the Colonies) and
 as the Administrator, page 47, has but
 slightly mentioned the Misapplication of
 Monies raised in the Colonies for the Sup-
 port of the Government, it is hoped an ex-
 tract from the above mentioned spirited De-

fence of the Charters will not be thought
 unseasonable in this Place. " That Go-
 vernors are apt to abuse their Power,
 and grow Rich by Oppression, Experi-
 ence shows us. We have seen, not
 many Years since, some Governors seized
 by their injured People, and sent Prison-
 ers to *White-Hall*, there to answer for
 their Offences; others have fallen Vic-
 tims on the Spot, not to the Fury of Fac-
 tion or a Rabble, but to the Resentment
 of the whole Body of the People, rising
 as one Man, (as in one of the West In-
 dian Islands, not many Years since) to
 revenge their Wrongs. Others, after
 being recalled have been prosecuted at
 the King's Bench Bar, pursuant to an Act
 of Parliament made in the Reign of the
 late King William; whereby it is provided,
 that Governors shall be impleadable at
 home for any Injuries done in their Go-
 vernments Abroad. We have had more
 than one Instance of this very lately, where
 Governors have been convicted, and
 censured, not so properly for oppres-
 sing as for direct plundering the People;
 and such other Acts of Misrule and law-
 less Power, as one would not have
 thought it possible they should have com-
 mitted, if Experience had not shown it
 to be more than possible (Defence p. 70)
 " Indeed

“ Indeed it can hardly be expected, but
 “ Corruptions must happen, when one
 “ Considers that few Gentlemen will cross
 “ the Seas for a Government, *whose Cir-*
 “ *cumstances are not somewhat embarrassed at*
 “ *home*; especially as they know by how
 “ slight and uncertain a Tenure they hold
 “ their Commissions; from whence they
 “ wisely conclude that no time is to be lost;
 “ and as to the Account to be rendered at
 “ home, that is not thought of at so great
 “ a distance, for Procul a Jove, Procul a
 “ Fulmine. *To enlarge then the Power of*
 “ *Governors, is to give them greater Power to*
 “ *oppress; and to vacate the Charters, is to en-*
 “ *large their Power,* the Government in that
 Case of Course devolving upon them; as
 “ we see in those Plantations that never had
 “ any Charters, but are immediately de-
 “ pendent on the Crown, *in which they have*
 “ *in a manner the intire legislative and execu-*
 “ *tive Powers, or at least so great an Influence*
 “ *on the Constituent Parts of the Former, as*
 “ *leaves them little more than nominal Shares,*
 “ *erving rather as Screens to the Governor*
 “ *than a Defence to the People! The Militia*
 “ *is absolutely vested in the Governors, which*
 “ *influences all Elections of Representatives:*
 “ *They appoint Judges, Sheriffs, and other*
 “ *civil Officers with the Consent, it is said in-*
 “ *deed, of the Council; but that such Consent*
 “ vol-

voluntarily or involuntary will ever be dis-
regarded, seems too much to be feared, if
we consider, that although the Gover-
nors do not indeed appoint the Council
yet they recommend proper Persons to
the King; and it may be supposed, that
a Gentleman who is intrusted with the
chief Command of a Province, and is ac-
tually on the Spot, will be thought capa-
ble of judging best and therefore his Re-
commendation will always prevail. Be-
sides if there be a turn to serve, or an
Emergency real or imaginary, and any of
the Members should be so refractory as not to
give into his Measures with an implicit Faith,
the Governor can suspend as many of them as
he pleases; and when he has reduced the
Board under a Number limited in his
Instructions, he can then fill it up to that
Number instantly with whom he pleases,
and who will they be, may we presume,
but such as are passively obedient to his
will? and too many such there are to be found
in all Colonies so constituted, who are content
to be saddled themselves, provided they may ride
others under the chief Rider. I must farther
observe, that where there are Courts of
Equity established, in which the Gover-
nor is always Chancellor, and for the most
part Chief Justice, and Ordinary at the
same time; this puts the Estates, Lives
and

“ and Liberties of the Inhabitants, saving
 “ the Liberty of Appeal at home, intirely
 “ in his disposal, and even an Appeal in
 “ all Cases under a considerable Sum,
 “ the Ordinary jurisdiction, and in all Cases
 “ Capital, is either disallow'd by his Instruc-
 “ tions, or it is wholly in the Governor's
 “ Breast to allow or not. *The Sum and Sub-*
 “ *stance of my Argument is this, that the Benefit*
 “ *which Great Britain receives from the Plan-*
 “ *tations, arises from their Commerce: That*
 “ *Oppression is the most opposite Thing in the*
 “ *World to Commerce and the most destructive*
 “ *Enemy it can have: That Governors have in*
 “ *all times and all Countries, been much inclined*
 “ *to oppress: And consequently it cannot be the*
 “ *interest of the Nation to increase their Power,*
 “ *and lessen the Liberties of the People. I am*
 “ *so Sanguine in this Opinion that I really think*
 “ *it would be for the Service of the Crown and*
 “ *Nation to incorporate those Governments which*
 “ *have no Charters, rather than Disfranchise*
 “ *those that have them,* page 69 to 73, Mr.
 Dummer's defence of the Colonies 1721.

Mr. Otis, in his Proof of the Rights of the
 “ British Colonies, page 80. asks why is the
 “ temporary Support found fault with? would
 “ it be wise to give a Governor a Salary for a longer
 “ time than his political Life? as this is quite
 “ as uncertain as his natural, it has been
 “ granted annually; so that every Governor has
 the

“ the Chance of one Year’s Salary even after
 “ he is dead, and it may be added, after he
 is Superseded, or after he quits Government.
 The Governor’s Salary being granted from May
 to May Session. Governor Belcher was Su-
 perseded in July or at the Beginning of August;
 Governor Shirly left the Province in August
 or September, and Governor Pownall was not
 three Years in the Administration, yet was he
 Paid three Years Salary—To mention but one
 instance or two more touching the Conduct of
 Governors—Mr. Dummer in his Defence
 of the Colonies, page 39 to 44 after reciting
 the Advantages of Charter Governments—
 “ Shews how they fared in an evil reign, when
 “ they lost their Charters. Then the Govern-
 “ or of New England with four or five Strang-
 “ ers of his Councils, Men of desperate fortunes
 “ and of bad, if any, Principles, made what
 “ Laws and levied what Taxes they pleased
 “ on the People. They, without an Assembly
 “ raised a Penny in the Pound on all the Estates
 “ in the Country, and another Penny on all im-
 “ ported Goods, besides Twenty Pence per Head,
 “ as Poll Money, and an immoderate Excise
 “ on Wines, Rum, and other Liquors; Several
 “ worthy Persons, having in an humble Address
 “ Represented this Proceeding as a Grievance,
 “ were committed to the common Goal for a High
 “ Misdemeanor, deny’d the Benefit of the Habeas
 “ Corpus Act, try’d out of their own Country,
 “ fined

“ *fin*ed exorbitantly and oblig’d to pay 16*l* for fees,
 “ *when the Prosecution would hardly have cost*
 “ *them so many Shillings in Great Britain; and*
 “ *to compleat the Oppression, when they upon their*
 “ *Trial claimed the Privileges of Englishmen,*
 “ *they were Scoffingly told, Those things would*
 “ *not follow them to the ends of Earth. Un-*
 “ *natural Insult! Must the brave Adven-*
 “ *turer, who, with the Hazard of his Life*
 “ *and Fortune, seeks out new Climates to*
 “ *enrich his Mother Country, be denied*
 “ *those common Rights which his Country-*
 “ *men enjoy at Home in Ease and Indolence?*
 “ *Is he to be made miserable and a Slave by*
 “ *his own Acquisition, is the labourer alone*
 “ *unworthy his Hire, and shall they only*
 “ *Reap who have neither Sow’d or Planted?*
 “ *Monstrous Absurdity! Horrid inverted order!*
 “ *These Proceedings, however Arbitrary and*
 “ *oppressive, were but the Prelude: The*
 “ *Catastrophe was, if possible, yet more*
 “ *Dismal. Having invaded their Liberties, by*
 “ *an easy Transition, the next Attack was*
 “ *directly on their Properties: Their Title*
 “ *to their Lands was absolutely deny’d by the*
 “ *Governor and his Creatures; upon two*
 “ *Pretences: one that their Conveyances were*
 “ *not according to the Law of England; the*
 “ *other, that if they might be thought to have*
 “ *had something like a Title formerly, yet it*
 “ *now ceased by the Revocation of their*
 E “ Char-

“ Charters. So that they who had fairly pur-
 “ chas’d their Lands and held them in quiet
 “ Possession for above fifty Years, were now
 “ obliged to accept new Deeds from the Go-
 “ vernor, and pay for them a third of their
 “ Value, in order to ascertain their Title, other-
 “ wise they would be seized by the Crown,”

(41) besides these Instances of Rapacity, it is well known by many in this Kingdom, in what manner a certain Governor harassed the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Province, with Adjournments from the Court House in Boston to Salem, Cambridge, &c. until Heaven in Pity to their distresses was pleased to remove the Author of them.

Mr Dummer’s Defence of the Charter Governments having been approved by former Ministers, it is hoped it will be by those who now are, and all who shall hereafter act in the same Capacity: and that the Charter liberties, obnoxious as some pretend they are, it is hoped they will be perpetuated as Bars against the Rapacity of such ambitious Tyrants and Governors, who by Misrepresentations and whatever other Means they can devise, shall attempt to subvert and abridge the Liberties of the Colonists to extend their own Power, though the most incenced of them never showed such Malice as the Administration of the Colonies, where the most insidious Rever-
 sion

tion of the Scepter is suggested by the Dependency of the Governor appointed by the Crown on the Legislature of the Colonies for their Salaries.

As to the absolute Necessity for passing an Act for the Extent of the English Laws, and the Court's ordaining a general set of Rules of the Practice---Mr Dummer in his Defence of the New England Charters, says, page 36, " that these Governments so far
 " from having retrenched the Liberty of the
 " Subject, have improved it in some impor-
 " tant Articles which the Circumstances of
 " Great Britain perhaps do not require, or
 " will not easily admit--To mention a few---
 " There has been from the Beginning an
 " Office erected by Law in every Country,
 " where all Conveyances of Land are en-
 " tered at large, after the Granters have
 " first acknowledged them before a Justice
 " of Peace : by which Means much Fraud
 " is prevented : no Person being able to sell
 " his Estate twice, or take up more Money
 " upon it than it is worth. Provision has
 " likewise been made for the Security of
 " the Life and Property of the Subject in
 " the Matter of Juries, who are not re-
 " turned by the Sheriff of the County, but
 " are chosen by the Inhabitants of the
 " Town, a convenient Time before the sit-
 " ting of the Courts : and this Election is

“ under the most exact Regulation, in or-
 “ der to prevent Corruption, so far as hu-
 “ man Prudence can do it---Redress in their
 “ Courts of Law, *is easy, quick and cheap.*
 “ All Processes are in English, and no spe-
 “ cial Pleadings or Demurrers are admitted,
 “ but the general Issue is always given, and
 “ special Matters brought in Evidence;
 “ which saves Time and Expence, and in
 “ this Case, a Man is not liable to loose his
 “ Estate for a Defect in form, nor is the
 “ Merit of the Cause made to Depend on
 “ the Niceties of Clerkship. By a Law of
 “ the Country, no Writ may be abated for
 “ a circumstantial Error, such as a slight
 “ Misnomer or any Informality; and by
 “ another Law, it is enacted, that every
 “ Attorney taking out a Writ from the
 “ Clerk’s Office, shall Indorse his Sirname
 “ upon it, and be liable to pay to the ad-
 “ verse Party, his Costs and Charges in
 “ Case of Non-Prosecution or Discontinu-
 “ ance, or that the Plaintiff be non-suited,
 “ or Judgment pass against him; and it is
 “ provided in the same Act, that if the
 “ Plaintiff shall suffer a non-suit by the At-
 “ torney mislaying the Action, he shall be
 “ obliged to draw a new Writ without a
 “ Fee, in case the Plaintiff shall see fit to
 “ revive the Suit---I cannot but think that
 “ every Body, except Gentlemen of the
 long

“ long Robe, and the Attornies, will think
 “ this a wholesome Law, and well calcu-
 “ lated for the Benefit of the Subject. For
 “ the quicker Dispatch of Causes, Decla-
 “ rations are made part of the Writ, in
 “ which the Case is fully and particularly set
 “ forth. If it be matter of Account, the
 “ Account is annexed to the Writ, and Co-
 “ pies of both left with the Defendant ;
 “ which being done fourteen Days before
 “ the setting of the Court, he is obliged to
 “ plead directly, and the Issues then tried,
 “ whereas by the Practice of the Court of
 “ King’s Bench, three or four Months
 “ time is often lost after the Writ is served,
 “ before the Cause can be brought to an Is-
 “ sue.---*Nor are the People of New England*
 “ *oppressed with infinite Delays and Expence,*
 “ *that attend the Proceedings in Chancery,*
 “ *where both Parties are often ruined by the*
 “ *Charge and length of the Suit.* But as in
 “ all other Countries, England only ex-
 “ cepted, Jus & Æquum, are held the
 “ same, and never divided: a Power of
 “ Chancery being vested in the Judges of
 “ the Courts of Common Law, as to some
 “ particular Cases (more especially if com-
 “ pared with the Cheapness and Dispatch
 “ of Law in the Colonies--the Dearness
 “ and Delays of Law in our Mother Coun-
 “ try) and they make equitable Construc-
 tions

" tions in others. I must add, that the
 " Fees of Officers of all Sorts are settled by
 " Acts of Assembly at moderate Prices, for
 " the Ease of the Subject. It were easy
 " to mention other Articles, but that I per-
 " suade myself, it is needless. *The Charter*
 " *Governments are celebrated for their excel-*
 " *lent Laws and mild Administration; for the*
 " *Security of Liberty and Property; for the*
 " *Encouragement of Virtue, and Suppres-*
 " *sion of Vice, for the promoting Letters by*
 " *erecting Free Schools and Colleges: and,*
 " *in one Word, for every thing that can*
 " *make a People happy and prosperous,"*
 (39) Dummer's Defence of the Charter Go-
 vernments.

The Administrator, page 54 and 55, in
 his very polite Charge of the Ignorance of
 Judges, says, " it will be no Dishonour
 " to many Gentleman sitting on the Benches
 " of the Courts of Law in the Colonies, to
 " say they are not, and cannot be expected
 " to be Lawyers or learned in the Law;
 " (why could he not have said in plain
 English, that they are not qualified) Mr
 Otis, in his Proof of the Rights of the
 Colonies, with great Propriety says (p. 79.)
 " if this be the Case, that the Judges
 " (except those of Rhode Island, and
 " Connecticut) are appointed by the Crown
 " and by the King's Governor, it is the Mis-
 for-

“fortune, not the Fault of the People,” had the Administrator been endued with one Spark of good Nature, he would have made honourable mention of the Judges, that he knew to be universally revered for their superior Knowledge in the Law, and irreproachable Administration of Justice, or, had he meant to reform, or inform, and not to inflame, he would have made a proper Distinction between the inferior Court of Common Pleas, and the superior Court of Judicature, the inferior, according to the present Mode, being of so little Consequence, is barely any thing more than a passage to the Superior, and consequently doth not require Judges of great Eminence in the Law, as points of Law, are seldom or ever argued there: and if, as has been hinted, the Administrator has been a Governor in one of the Provinces, it is not any great honour to his Administration, to have neglected Reforms, so glaringly necessary, as to merit such severe Animadversions as he has made on the Judges and the Laws, that have been justly celebrated for their Excellence.---The Compliment paid the Administrator, by Mr Otis, of some good Thoughts in the Administration of the Colonies, possibly might be intended of such as the Administrator collected from Mr Dummer’s Defence of the Charter Govern-

vernments, which he has tortured without Mercy, page 57. Administrator asks, " how little the Crown, when opposed to the Spirit of Democracy, or to the Passions of the Populace, has to expect of that Support, Maintenance, and Guardianship, which the Courts are even by the Constitution supposed to hold for the Crown ;" though this Question has been noticed by Mr Otis, it may not be Unseasonable to observe, that the Judges in the Charter Colonies being appointed by the Governor, with Advice of the Council, have been controuled by some wicked Governors; and though the Judges are Guardians of all that is dear to Man, and ought of all Men to be the most Independent, yet if the Assertion of the Administrator be true, and Judges have been influenced by the Leaders of a Party to unfair Practice in the Colony Courts---a stronger Reason could not be given for keeping them Dependant until they are otherwise appointed.

The Administrator's Insinuation of the Difficulty, and Impracticability of convicting any Person of a Violation of the Laws of Trade, deserves to be treated with the utmost Contempt. The Temper, and Spirit of the Administration of the Colonies, is too glaringly against them to admit a Doubt that

that if he could he would have produced something more Staple than his own Assertion to countenance his severe Suggestion; but as it appears by his own Quotation that he has read the prudent spirited Defence of the Charter Colonies, by Mr Dummer, it is highly Probable he might *thereby have been led to his* Insinuation, by a similar Complaint, where it is said, in the 42d page of that Pamphlet, “ that these Complaints were for the most Part of an old Date,” and when the Bills in the House of Commons were produced from the Files of the Plantation Board, whither they had been transmitted in former Reigns, when Custom House Officers in the Plantations were such great Rarities, that one Collector served four Provinces And can it be thought strange, that Merchants, whose Business is Gain, should have sometimes, for lucre, transgressed the Acts of Trade; when there were no Officers to see them duly observed? The Case is vastly different now; Officers of the Revenue are multiplied, and are so extremely rigorous, that instead of their Complaining of unfair Traders, the Merchants on the other hand complain of the Oppression of the Officers. *I have seen, says Mr Dummer, an Account of such intolerable Hardships imposed on fair well meaning Traders under Colour of law, that one would hardly give*

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“ credit

“ credit to the least of the Articles if the
 “ whole had not been delivered publicly in
 “ an Assembly of one of the Provinces by a
 “ worthy Member, and afterwards printed
 “ with his Name to it, with this melancholy
 “ Conclusion, *That the Custom house Officers*
 “ *had by their vickent Practice, either seized or*
 “ *driven away all the Vessels belonging to that*
 “ *part of the Country, so that they had no*
 “ Sloops left to carry their produce to Market
 “ in the adjacent Colonies.---He then takes
 “ Notice of a late Complaint by the Surveyor
 “ general of North America and the Col-
 “ lector of New London, against the Colony
 “ of Connecticut, drawn up in very severe
 “ terms, which represents them as *setting the*
 “ *Laws of Trade and Navigation at Defiance.*
 “ Whereas in truth and in fact, the Instances
 “ they produced of such Defiance, were clear
 “ *Proofs of that Colony's Endeavours to support*
 “ *the Laws of Trade and their own Traffic;* and
 “ on the contrary, what the Custom house
 “ Officers insisted on was manifestly subver-
 “ sive of both; and could serve no other end
 “ but enhancing the Collectors own Fees
 “ (Defence 44 and again 46). If it were
 “ true that some Persons now and then did
 “ concern themselves in an illegal Trade,
 “ can it be thought just or reasonable that
 “ the whole Community should suffer for
 “ their private Faults---No Body will say that
 “ the

“ the Acts of Trade are perfectly observed in
 “ the Provinces immediately under the Crown,
 “ or in Great Britain itself, there being no Sea
 “ Port or Corporation in the Kingdom, wherein
 “ there are not at some time or other contra-
 “ band Goods imported, or other Goods
 “ clandestinely run to the Prejudice of the
 “ King's Duties. In the Port of London, great
 “ Abuses are daily committed in spite of the
 “ utmost Vigilance to prevent them, the
 “ Fraud of relanding Callicoos, &c. after
 “ pretended Exportation, &c. is notorious;
 “ and yet who ever used this as an Argument
 “ to disfranchise this ancient Corporation? if
 “ the Grievances complained of were not an-
 “ tiquated Stories but subsisted at this time;
 “ if they were fairly represented; and lastly,
 “ if it were equitable that the Crimes of Per-
 “ sons in a private Capacity should be ex-
 “ piated by the public, no Conclusion could
 “ then be drawn from these premises, pre-
 “ judicial to the Charters, because the dissol-
 “ ving them would be no Remedy in any
 “ Sort: the Reason of which is plain, for
 “ not only the Inspection of Trade, but the
 “ Prosecution, Trial and Punishment of every
 “ Offender would rest in the same hands, and
 “ be carried on in the same Manner as before
 (48) the Administrator however has taken up
 a page or two, to shew, that where there is
 a Court of Equity it is avoided as much as
 F 2 possible;

possible; so that it is almost wholly in dis-
use; where is then the Advantage of this Court
of Chancery, or indeed where could there be
any Advantage in it, even in the Author's own
"Opinion, who had declared he always confi-
"dered the Government's taking the Office of
"Chancellor, as a Case labouring with in-
"explicable Difficulties?" But this is not in-
sinuated to be quite so bad as the Practice of
petitioning the legislative Courts to interpose
their Authority, beyond what Courts of
Chancery ever attempted to decree. — This is
a Charge of nothing less than injustice against
the Legislature in the Government where
it has been practised. The Charge of In-
justice might have been spared, though the
practice ought not to be continued; as it
appears repugnant to the Statute of 1 Henry
the Fourth recited page 59. the Administra-
tor's Censure on the Provision in the Char-
ters of Appeals to the King in Council from
the Courts of law in the Colonies, if it has
not too strong a tincture of indecency,
is certainly severe enough, where he says
it is *inapplicable* to the *Modes of the*
English law, the *Difficulty and Inefficiency of*
the Redress on account of the King in
Council never being by the Constitution, in
any other Case, between Subject and Sub-
ject, formed as such a Court of Appeal, it
scarce ever, in the temporary and occasional
sittings looks like such a Court; but is ra-
ther

ther accidentally or particularly then officially attended. This however is but one of many instances of the all-searching genius of the Administrator. This Liberty of Appeal to the King in Council is, and always has been esteemed a Mark of Royal Favour, and appears with superb Lustre and Dignity to the poor abused envied Colonists, as often as they accidentally or occasionally attend this August Tribunal. These general Apprehensions and Reasoning, page 60, the Administrator says, have led many knowing and dispassionate Men in the Colonies into a Conviction of the Necessity of some established constitutional Court of Appeal, page 60 to 62. “ *There are Gentlemen*
“ *on this Side the Water, who seeing the De-*
“ *fects of this Measure as to a Court of Ap-*
“ *peal; and not seeing the Necessity of a Court*
“ *of Chancery at all, as there is nothing con-*
“ *trary to the fundamentals of Law, that*
“ *their Courts already established should equi-*
“ *tize, think that instead of establishing any*
“ *new Courts of Chancery—it would be very*
“ *proper to abolish even those already establish-*
“ *ed, and extend the Power which the Law*
“ *Courts take in determining upon Bonds, &c.*
“ *by empowering them to decree in Equity, and*
“ *after that, to take such Measures, as may*
“ *best establish a fixed and constitutional Court*
“ *of Appeal here in England.* It is thought,
a bet-

a better Court of Appeal, than that which is already established in the King and Council, cannot be formed unless it be by extending the Power of the Judges to Points in Equity, which will be much better than putting the Colonies to the Expence of a new Court of Chancery. And it is thought the Practice of the Courts in some of the Colonies may be altered, so as to make them much easier, quick and cheap. Suppose in order to make the Judges of the Superior Court in the Massachusetts and all the Colonies as independent as the Judges are at home, instead of their being appointed by the Governour with the Consent of the Council, their Appointment should be, by the Governor with the Consent of the Council, and House of Representatives; and their Salaries should be settled equal to their Dignity and Importance. Suppose the Number should be reduced to three instead of there being five, as there now are; and that the Chief Judge had 800, and the others 600*l.* lawful Money *per annum*, there can be no doubt but such a Regulation would tempt People of Fortune to put themselves to the Expence of qualifying themselves for such high Stations. The following Regulations in the Law Proceedings or some others may be adopted more for the Ease of the Judges and the Parties than the present Mode of Practice. That the Power of the Judges now limited to the

Chancery

Chancery of Bonds, Mortgages, &c. should extend to all Causes whatsoever, reserving only the Liberty of Appeal to the King in Council.

Now instead of committing the Cause to the Jury, without Proof or Argument, at the Inferior Court according to the present Mode of Practice, it ought to be fully heard and tried, and no Evidence admitted at the Trial of Appeal that was not examined at the first Trial, unless the Party declares upon Oath he could not obtain it. And to prevent vexatious Litigation, if the Judgment of the lower Court should not be confirmed, and increased at that above, the Appellant ought then to pay double Cost, and double Interest; one half of which should be applied to the publick Fund; the same should be paid in Appeals from Judgments by Default, which, though a Practice, not altogether consistent with equity, yet as it has prevailed Time immemorial, may be continued, but subjected as above for the publick Emolument. Actions of Review should rest in the Power of the superior Judges, and if upon their being granted, and the Cause tried, the Plaintiff should not recover more than he recovered upon the Appeal, he ought in this Cause to pay treble Cost and treble Interest, one half to be applied as above. Some such Reforms as these undertaken and approved
by

by Gentlemen learned in the law, might probably be of such public Utility as to prevent any future Complaints whatever.

In the Year 1721, Mr *Dummer*, in his Defence of the Charter Governments, makes the Outsets of the first Settlers of the Massachusetts Province, Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, and notwithstanding the infinite Hardships and Disasters they had met with, the Exports of that single Province to the Mother Country according to the Computation of the Merchants was at that Time Three Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling *per annum*, besides the Benefits of their Supplies to the *West-Indies*, their Navigation, Fisheries, Nursery, and Supplies of Sailors to the Navy.—he says, *New England* had defended itself from the Beginning without being burthensome to the Crown, though not without great Struggles and Difficulties to themselves, for after they had subdued many Nations the Frontiers were cruelly harassed by other Tribes, animated and assisted by the *French* at *Canada*, who gave the *Massachusetts* but few, and those short intervals of peace; and notwithstanding this, that Government was never wanting to protect the King's Subjects within their Jurisdiction. Six or Seven Hundred Troops at a Time were kept to cover the Barrier-line, Forts

Forts were built wherever they were thought necessary, whereby their own Frontiers and the King's Government of New Hampshire were preserv'd. " The *Massachusetts* equally " solicitous to protect their Inhabitants by " Sea and Land, kept their Militia well " trained and disciplined. *Boston* the Capital " was fortified with two Batteries to the Sea, " and about a League from the Town " with a beautiful strong Castle, by far the " finest Piece of military Architecture in the " *British America*. In short nothing that " could be done for the Defence of the Sub- " ject by Sea, or Land, has been left undone, " so that it is really astonishing to think that " little Government should be able by its " own Strength, and at its own Charge, to " perform such great Things; they have dis- " cover'd a noble Zeal to enlarge the *British* " Empire, by undertaking several chargeable " Expeditions against the strongest *French* " Settlements in *America*. And in 1690 " they subdued *Port Royal*, and made them- " selves Masters of the Place with all the " Country of *Acadia*, which was given up " to the *French* at the Peace of *Ryswick*. " The same Year they fitted out thirty-two " Sail of Vessels and Tenders, having on board " Two Thousand Men, to go against *Que- " beck*, whilst a little Army of a Thousand " *English*, and Fifteen Hundred *Indians* were

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" ordered

" ordered to march by Land against *Mont Reval*,
 " these Expeditions by a Camp Fever, &c. were
 " unsuccessful, and cost the Province the
 " Lives of above a Thousand Men that were
 " Fathers, Masters and Servants, (intitled to
 " little Fortunes, which were thought suffi-
 " cient for a comfortable Subsistence) be-
 " sides One Hundred and Fifty Thousand
 " Pounds in Money. This Misfortune, by
 " the wise Conduct of the Governments, and
 " the Industry of the People, was so well re-
 " paired in less than Twenty Years, that they
 " form'd another Expedition against *Canada*,
 " but not thinking they were strong enough,
 " made an unsuccessful Attempt against *Port*
 " *Royal*; not discouraged by this Repetition
 " of Misfortunes, as soon as Queen *Ann* sig-
 " nified her Royal Intention to reduce *Can-*
 " *da*, and required them to provide their
 " Quota of Troops, they made ample Provi-
 " sion for it; and though the Court altered
 " their Measures, and did not see meet to
 " proceed in their Design, the Colonies were
 " put to near the same Charge as if they had.
 " The next Year, they rais'd a Body of Troops
 " again commanded by General *Nicolson*, with
 " five Hundred Auxiliaries from home, made
 " another Descent upon *Port Royal*, and sub-
 " dued it. For which Service they were pro-
 " mised by her then Majesty considerable Ad-
 " vantages in respect of Trade and Fishery, to
 " which

“ which it is not doubted but a just Regard will
 “ be paid, when Nova Scotia is brought under a
 “ Civil Government. Presently after, when the
 “ great unfortunate Expedition against *Canada*
 “ under General *Hill* and Admiral *Walker*
 “ took Place, they furnish’d more than the
 “ Quota assign’d them, and provided all Ne-
 “ cessaries for the *British* Troops with such
 “ animated Zeal that could hardly be thought
 “ possible. These (*North American*) Govern-
 “ ments have assisted and reliev’d the most
 “ distant of his Majesty’s Islands, and the re-
 “ motest Settlements on the Continent when
 “ in Distress, upon no other Inducement,
 “ than that of being their Fellow-Subjects.

“ When in the Year 1703 *Jamaica* was
 “ in Fear of an Invasion, and desired some
 “ Help; the *Massachusetts*’s Government sent
 “ two Companies under Colonel *Walton* and
 “ Captain *Lawrence*, that served Two Years,
 “ sometimes on Shore and at other Times
 “ as Marines on board the Men of War,
 “ and very few out of Two Hundred ever
 “ returned to their native Country. In
 “ 1705, when *Nevis* was plundered and ru-
 “ ined by *Ibberville*, the *Massachusetts* chari-
 “ tably and of their own Accord raised
 “ Two Thousand Pounds for their Relief;
 “ which they sent in two Vessels for their
 “ Subsistence in Provisions, and Materials
 “ for building Houses, Mills, &c.

“ When

When Carolina was engaged in War
 with the Spanish Indians, and wanted
 Arms and Ammunition, they were sup-
 plied with both from Boston; upon the
 whole, what a vast Fund of Merit have
 the Charter Government, raised to them-
 selves from a long Series of Faithful and
 Heroic Services, nay, so much, that Mr
 Dummer could not but wish, that his
 Majesty and Ministry had leisure from
 their Important Affairs of the Nation to
 consider their Merit--and then instead of
 depriving them of their present Privileges,
 they would continue them for ever; and
 if there were room for it, add as many
 more, p. 34.

In 1740, The New England Govern-
 ments, upon Requisition from the Ministry,
 sent a thousand Men to join the King's
 Troops at Jamaica, on an Expedition against
 the Spanish Settlements in the West Indies,
 of which number there were not above
 twenty Officers and Men that lived to re-
 turn to New-England.---In 1744, Annapo-
 lis Royal, twice besieged by the French,
 was relieved by the Massachusetts Govern-
 ment, the Garrison supplied with Men, and
 Stores, and the Place defended with Ships,
 &c. against the Enemy---In 1745, Louis-
 bourg was taken by the New England Forces,
 In 1746, as soon as his Majesty's Intention
 of

of an Expedition against Crown Point was known, and long before there was an Intimation of a Reimburlement of the Money expended on the Louisbourg Expedition, the Massachusets raised, and made Provision for three thousand Men, and though that Expedition was laid aside, it put the Province to forty odd thousand Pounds Sterling Expence, more than ever were reimbursed to them, though it would have been repaid by the Mother Country, if a certain G - - r had not then had some considerable Dependencies to settle for himself.--In the late War with France and Spain, the Colonies in general, and the Massachusets Province in particular, in their Supplies of Soldiers, Sailors, &c. &c. so far exceeded the most sanguine Expectation of the Mother Country, that every Friend to this happy, envied Nation was of "the same Opinion with the Author of "the Administration of the Colonies, p. 24. "That the People, who through such various "Hardships, Disasters and Disappointments; "such Difficulties, and almost ruinous Expences, &c. have settled a fine Country, "that has greatly encreased the Strength "and Riches of Great Britain, merit every "Protection, Grace, Encouragement and "Privilege that are in her Power to grant--therefore an Enlargement of the Privileges, granted to the first Settlers of that invaluable

ble Country, with every Indulgence to their Descendants, as a Reward for their Eminent Services, ought undoubtedly to be made--and at the Close of the War, so great was the Zeal of the British Inhabitants for the Colonists, that it is thought the Author of such a Pamphlet as that of the Administration of the Colonies, would have been treated with the utmost Contempt and Indignity--But instead of loading the Author of that insidious Pamphlet with Execrations; the Colonists have breathed nothing but the most dutiful and humble Remonstrances upon their constitutional Rights, with Supplications and Intercessions for an Exemption from Revenues, stamp Duties and Excise. And surely a People might claim such Indulgence who have been racked and tore to Pieces, and by a cruel seven Years War reduced to such Indigence, Debts and Difficulties, as are not to be felt by an inexorable merciless Administrator, who is supposed to have seen and heard the Cries and Groans of many ruined Widows, helpless Orphans, and childless Parents, the Recollection of a Scene so affecting as this, one would have thought might have diverted the Author from enforcing such Measures; which in page 76, he declares besides

fides " the Difficulties respecting the Rights
 " of the Crown, which may attend this
 " Scheme, it is a Point that ought very de-
 " liberately to be weighed, How far even
 " the supreme Government of the Mother
 " Country can consistently with general
 " Liberty proceed in laying Taxes on its
 " Colonies, where the consent of the Peo-
 " ple cannot be in any constitutional Way
 " taken"--he goes on further and says,
 " That on the Excise and Stamp Duty Reve-
 " nue, a Point will arise to doubt how far
 " these Colonies, who for the Necessities of
 " Government, and the Emergencies of Ser-
 " vice, have already by their proper Powers,
 " laid these Duties on the People, and
 " granted the Revenue, arising therefrom
 " to the Crown, how far these Colonies may
 " not be supposed to have precluded any Act
 " of Administration here on these heads."
 These Doubts ought to have been resolved
 before Publication of the Administration of
 the Colonies, but if the Opinion of the At-
 torney and Solicitor General, absolutely
 against a Question similar to the former, in
 the year 1731 or 1732, will satisfy the Ad-
 ministrator's curiosity, he may find it at the trea-
 sury. Another Inconsistency in his Treatise
 is

...the British...
...of the Crown, which may attend this
...is a point that ought very de-
...to be weighed, how far even
...the Supreme Government of the Mother
...Country can consistently with general
...Liberty proceed in laying Taxes on its
...Colonies, where the consent of the Peo-
...ple cannot be in any constitutional Way
...taken:—he goes on farther and says
...That on the Pacific and Spanish Bay Re-
...must a Point will arise to decide how far
...these Colonies, who for the Necessities of
...Government, and the Emergencies of Ser-
...vice, have already their property taxed,
...and laid these Taxes on the People, and
...granted the Revenue, arising therefrom
...to the Crown, how far these Colonies may
...not be supposed to have purchased any Ad-
...of Administration here on their heads.
These Doubts ought to have been removed
before Publication of the Administration of
the Colonies, but if the Opinion of the At-
torney and Solicitor General, who have
against a Question similar to the former, in
the year 1731 or 1732, will justify the Ad-
ministrator accordingly, he may find it better
to say. Another Inconsistency in the Terms

is, " the Author's Apprehensions of the
 " dangerous Consequences, if there be in
 " Time of Peace in the civil Governors,
 " and other Officers of the Crown, the
 " least Subordination to the military Com-
 " mander in chief; it may, says the Au-
 " thor, p. 65. be found a dangerous Thing
 " to have given so much of the civil Pow-
 " er out of the King's Hands, and to have
 " done so little to maintain those into
 " whose Hands it is entrusted. These dan-
 " gerous Consequences are repugnant to
 " the Administrator's parliamentary Con-
 " firmation of military Power, even if there
 " was so much as a Doubt of the Right of
 " the Crown to govern the Colonies as
 " Domains, p. 30. that he knew several of
 " them were invested with Charter Rights."

Mr. *Otis*, in his Proof of the Rights of
 the Colonies, p. 78, observes, it may be
 worth noting, " that few, if any Instances
 " can be given where Colonies have been
 " disposed to forsake or disobey a tender
 " Mother: But History is full of Exam-
 " ples; that Armies stationed as Guards
 " over Provinces, have secured the Prey for
 " their General, and given him a Crown at
 " the Expence of his Master." Are all
 ambitious Generals dead? (no, nor ambi-
 tious Governors, neither.) Will no more
 rise up hereafter? There had not need;
 there are enough in the World already to

shew the Danger of a standing Army in remote Provinces to be much greater than it was in *Rome*, whose Fate ought to be a Warning to other Nations before it be too late.

After a Preclusion from entering into a Discussion of the Points relating to the Colony Revenue, one would have thought the Author of the Administration of the Colonies might have deferred the Consideration of his Paper Money Currency, till the Doubts and Difficulties of his Exhibition set forth in sixty-eight Pages, had been determined. In fact, as was said before, his doubtful Points ought to have been determined before the Publication of them; for, if the Plan therein proposed was inconsistent, or incompatible with the Rights of the Colonists, they ought not to have been printed; and whether they are, or are not, is left to the Reader. As to the five and forty Pages, filled by the Author and his Auxiliary, with nice Distinctions, Explanations, and Applications of a Paper Currency—if they are multiplied five and forty Times by forty-five, they will never prevent the depreciating of any Bills redeemable at a distant Period—Figures are stubborn, and monied Men, who are supposed to be as well, if not the best acquainted with them—will never give or receive as an hundred Pounds, even upon

on the best public Security in the World, an hundred Pounds payable without Interest in Twelve Months—Sterling Money is the only invariable Medium of Trade; this Standard, without some political Finesse, cannot be depreciated, or diminished, where the Balance or Trade is in favour of a Kingdom or Colony; but where it is not so, as is the case with the Mother Country, and her Colonies, it makes a Medium much wanted. Therefore the most effectual Way for her to increase the Benefits derived from them, seems to be the Establishment of a Bank in each Colony, whose lawful Interest, after the Deduction of the Expence of the Managers, will leave a considerable Balance in Favour of *Great Britain*. This Establishment would greatly facilitate Trade, and help the Colonists to promote the Growth and Manufacture of such Staples as do not, and cannot interfere with the Manufactures of the Mother Country. This seems to be the Voice of Nature in the Formation of the *North American Colonies*, and appears so manifestly designed by Heaven for the enriching and strengthening *Great Britain*, that without the most criminal Neglect, or the most impolitic Measures, she may make her own Interest, the Interest of the Colonies, so as to perpetuate their Dependance on the Mother Country. For Hemp, Flax, and Pot-Ash,

Great Britain pays more than Half a Million Sterling *per Annum*, in Cash, to Foreigners, above what they take of British Manufactures; therefore the Growth of those valuable Articles cannot be too much encouraged, because they will find full employment for the People, and afford them much better Wages than they can earn by going into any Manufactures whatsoever that interferes with the Manufactures of the Mother Country, which are in such Perfection and Cheapness, as to be esteemed and preferred to any Manufactures of their own kind. The Government have settled a Bounty on Hemp and Flax adequate, if not beyond a Sum that could be expected or desired; and there can be no doubt but the happy Effects will soon appear.

Pot-Ash, though not so valuable, or of so much Importance as Hemp or Flax, yet, considering the accumulating Benefits deriving from the Increase of that bulky Staple, it is a Commodity that deserves great Encouragement, as it will employ great Numbers of People, and save the Ashes of immense Quantities of Wood and Brush, in our new Colonies, that must be consumed in making Roads, to convey which many Ships must be built, and many thousand People will, of Course, be employed in building and navigating them, which
must

must promote the Consumption of many Ship Loads of every Species of *British* Manufactures in Payment for the whole; this Staple, it is supposed, may be brought to Maturity with a Bounty of forty or fifty Shillings *per* Ton, within the Term of twenty Years. And it is probable, by the same Time, Hemp and Flax will become Staples throughout *America*, so as to abate the Bounty, and yield a Revenue to the Mother Country: A Duty should be immediately laid on the above Articles imported from foreign Parts, to exceed the Bounties which will not enhance the Prices, as the Importation from *America* will keep them down.

The Lumber of *North America*, with a little Encouragement, will soon become a vast Branch of the *British* Trade, Oak and Pine Timber, Plank and Boards, Masts great and small, Bowsprits, Yards and Spars will create the building of many large Ships to freight them home. Twenty shillings *per* Ton Bounty on these Articles will save large Sums of Money, and prove a considerable Remittance from *North America* for *British* Manufactures.

Iron is now a valuable Article, and besides the Iron Mines and Works in the old Colonies, there are many in *Canada*; this is a Staple which prevents much Money from going out of the Nation, and there
can

can be no doubt but less than twenty Years will yield a considerable increase to the publick Revenue.

Ships, built in *North America*, have long been a principal and an important Return from those Colonies; the great Number of Hands in cutting and transporting the rough Timber, Plank, &c. the Artificers and Labourers in building are all paid for with *British* Manufactures; their Cargoes of Fish, Lumber, and other Necessaries is a vast Advantage to the *West-India* Planters, not only in the Supplies, but the Ships bring home the Sugars at so low a Freight, that when the Ship is Sold, the whole Adventure seldom exceeds the Prime Cost: Ships are so extensive, useful, and valuable, that too much cannot be done to promote the Increase of them—that they may bring home at easy Freights, the Tobacco, Naval Stores, Rice, Oil, Logwood, Sugar and other valuable Commodities from the *British* Colonies, and load with Fish for *Portugal, Spain, Italy, &c.* from whence the Profits are remitted in Specie and Bills of Exchange. To effect this Increase of Ships, there needs only an immediate Stop being put to the scandalous Practice of building Ships at *Petersbourg, Archangle, Onego, &c.* with *Russian* materials; though they are much cheaper than they are in *England* or *America*! it is amazing, that a Practice

Practice so prejudicial to the Trade and Navigation of the *British* Empire, should have been so long unnoticed by the Administration. For every Ship built in *America*, the Factor or Owner is obliged to take out a Register, and make oath that no Foreigner is directly, or indirectly, concerned; but that Ships should be permitted to be built in foreign Nations, for *English* Subjects by Birth, and Naturalization, and entitled to all the Benefits of *British*-built Ships, is something marvellous. It is no wonder then, the *North American* Ships will not sell for their first Cost. This is a Matter of such Importance as to demand the Attention of every Friend to *Great Britain* to redress; for, besides preventing large Sums of Money from going out of the Nation, and creating great Numbers of Sailors, a much greater Sum would be brought into it by this Means, than by all the Duties proposed by the Administrator will ever bring from the Colonies. Duties, Stamps, and Excise, are discouraging to Trade, and disgustful; such especially as are attended with Guards and other disagreeable Modes; and the Expence of enforcing them, it is thought, will exceed the Duties after they are collected. The greatest Benefits of the Trade of the Colonies under proper Regulations will never

never be obtained by Duties, which are properly and rightly adapted for foreign Superfluities only, not for the Staples of a Kingdom or Colony. And however sanguine the Author of the Administration of the Colonies may be, or however buoyed up by his Connections, though disavowed, he will, he must be convinc'd; and if so, it will turn out, that Duties on the Trade of the Colonies will be infinitely more prejudicial than beneficial to the Mother Country. The Reasonableness of the Colonists contributing to the ease of the national Debt is so far from being objected to, that it is their avow'd Principle that they ought to do it, and they think they have done it beyond their Abilities by their Support of Government and Trade, and have, at all Times, approved themselves, in every respect, obedient, faithful Subjects, it would be the highest Degree of Injustice to suggest, that they ever will be sparing of either Blood or Treasure in the Cause of their Mother Country: Therefore it cannot be good Policy to burthen such Subjects with Duties which they nor their Fathers ever heard of.

Would it not be infinitely better Policy to give the Colonists a Breathing after their Toils and Blood, and enable them to recruit their Finances, by directing

ing and leading them into new Branches of Trade which will bear Duties and contribute to the Support of a Government which they are enthusiastically fond of; than by Duties, &c. to aggravate their Misfortunes and render them incapable of serving themselves or their Mother Country: 'tis but justice to say, that the Colonists are brave, that they are generous, and where there are these inherent principles, Millions of Lives might safely be pledged for their Fidelity. Should the Administrator retort their illicit Trade, 'tis acknowledged too many of the Colonists have been in the Transgression, but the Transgressors are not one in a thousand; the Destruction of the Trade to *Holland* and *Hamburg* has been long wished by every one, but the infamous Authors of it, and nothing but the Odium of an Informer has long since prevented an open Application for Redress.

The Molasses Act from the passing of it has been esteemed by Men, (who conscientiously observe all Acts of Trade, and never broke this,) as an Act that was not intended to be carried into Execution; this Opinion was confirmed by the Indifference that was shewn about it, neither doth it disagree with the Administration of the Colonies, (p. 124.) "It is the Duty of Government
 " (speaking of the *French*, *Dutch*, and
 I " *Danish*

“ *Danish Trade*) to encourage it under proper Regulation, &c. When it is remembered, that the Law, which lays a Duty equal to a Prohibition on the Importation of French Molasses into the British Colonies, was obtained at the Solicitation of the British Isles;” therefore any Allegation on the Molasses Duty ought not, and cannot be fairly made use of in Prejudice to the Colonies.

Establish the Importation of dried Codfish, subject to a Duty of two Shillings and Six-pence *per Quintal*, introduce it but one Day in a Week to every Family, it will encrease the Revenue more than all the Duties will proposed by the Author of the Administration of the Colonies, without the additional Expence of a Farthing to the Government; the exorbitant Price of Meat will greatly be reduced, the Fish will be found an agreeable, as it is not indelicate Food; it might be imported and sold so cheap, that the Fishmonger might retail the best at Three Pence *per Pound*, and the second Sort, which is very good, for Two-pence-half-penny *per pound*, which is cheaper than Meat at Five Farthings *per Pound*. A Consideration this, which, was there no other, ought to prevail, but the Advantage of the Increase of this *American Staple* would soon be felt in every Part of *Great Britain*, the Consumption

tion of Woollens, Lines, Grapling, &c. &c. would be immense; besides, the Colonists would be enabled to pay their Debts to the *British* Merchants.—Salt Fish is of vast Utility in *France*, why would it not be so in *England*? The *British American* Cod Fishery might this Way be made of more Value. And it is, in fact, of more Importance to the *British* Empire than the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* are to the *Spanish* Nation.—Without the Gift of Prophecy, one might certify that a proper Encouragement to this important Branch of Trade and Navigation, would be the most effectual and speedy Manner of reducing the National Debt.

There being an absolute Necessity of keeping a military Force for the Defence of *Canada*, it is most reasonable that the Beaver and other Furs from thence and the other Colonies should defray the charge, it ought, and may, without Prejudice to the Fur Trade, be made to do it at the Expence of Foreigners, who must be supplied with Beaver from hence. One Shilling *per* Pound Weight, without Draw-back, and One Shilling more *per* Pound Weight upon Exportation would not only pay the whole Expence of *Canada*, but was there no other Motive, for the Advantage of the Manufacture of Hats, it ought to be laid.

Tobacco, being a Luxury, ought to contribute more than it does to the Support of the State, and an additional Duty of Three Pence *per* Pound, without any Part of it drawn back, would not much, if any thing, lessen the Exportation, and it is thought not a Pound less of Tobacco would be consumed at Home, especially if the Importation of Cambrick and Lawns were permitted, and a Duty of Ten *per Cent. ad valorem*, would yield a considerable Revenue, and prevent Smuggling. Whatever Benefits may be insinuated by the Author of the Administration of the Colonies to accrue from laying Duties on their Trade, even supposing there should be something squeezed from them, it is certain they will contribute no more to the Discharge of the national Debt, than a Drop of Water will contribute towards enlarging the Ocean.

'Tis at Home our Wealth abounds, and at Home it ought to be sought. Where nought is to be had, even the King must lose his Right. A Regulation of the Land Tax has been long talked of as an equitable Reformation that would effectually reduce the enormous Debt of the Nation. Many Objections are, however, suggested, and many Injuries apprehended, some of which seem real; should this Regulation be carried into Execution, some would undoubtedly be hurt; but the few, or the many, ought

ought not to prevail against the whole. This grand Affair might be adjusted with less Difficulty than is in general thought. To effect this important equitable Regulation, nothing seems wanting but a resolute patriotic Spirit.

Places of public Entertainments are so multiplied, and so thronged in this Nation, that it is amazing the Government have not availed themselves of some Assistance from the Sons of Pleasure. The Managers of the Play-houses advanced their Prices about twenty Years ago: what Reason can now be urged to the Public, against a Tax of one Shilling to the Boxes, and Six-pence to the Pit? *Ranelagh* has advanced its Price of Entertainment from One Shilling to Two Shillings and Six-pence: why should not the Government advance one Shilling more at that Place, and Six-pence at *Vauxhall*, *Marybone*, *Sadler's Wells*, and every other Place of public Entertainment in the Kingdom. *Britons* pique themselves upon their *Roman* Spirit; why then do they not imitate the *Roman* Patriotism in a Tax upon supernumerary Servants, with a proper Distinction of *French*, and *Negroes* especially? Forty Shillings *per Annum per Head* should be paid for every Englishman Servant, and Twenty Shillings *per Head* for every Woman Servant, allowing only an Exemption of one of each in a Family.

Ten

Ten Pounds *per Annum per Head* for every French Man or Woman Servant, and Twenty Pounds *per Annum per Head* for every Negro and Mulatto Servant, Male or Female. This Tax would bring a vast annual Income into the Exchequer, besides preventing the Nation from being over-run with French Barbers, Taylors, Spies, &c. and the Increase of a tawny Race that forebodes one of the greatest Evils to the Nation. It is universally thought there are too many People in Office in every Department through the Kingdom; that there is nothing more wanted, or that would contribute more to the Revenue than a Regulation in this important Respect, which it is avowed may be effected in the Course of twenty or thirty Years, without Inconveniency to any Man living.

The last duty of three Shillings *per Barrel* that was laid on Porter, has not only been doubled by the Brewers and Publicans, but, Vulture like, they have preyed on the Poor, and imposed on them Porter which, in general, has not been so good by Six Shillings *per Barrel* as that which was brewed before the Duty was laid: This is a Concern that requires the Attention of Parliament, and perhaps an Abatement of the Duty on Beer—and laying an adequate one on Malt, would be an Ease to the Poor, and a Tax more easily borne. And if

if the Legislature thought proper, they might also establish the Quality and Prices with the Brewer and Publican to prevent future Impositions.

Suppose a Retrospective View of Things in general should be taken and a Group of *German* Contractors, Commissaries, &c. should appear, who it is said have amassed immense Fortunes where the Salaries and Perquisites have not been very considerable; would not such an Inquisition which has been often mentioned in the publick Papers, much talked of, and long wished for, be some sort of Satisfaction to the Nation in general, and in particular to many sober well minded people; especially as it is thought a much greater Sum of money would revert to the Treasury by this means, than will ever be remitted to the Exchequer for all the duties proposed by the Author of the Administration of the Colonies. But this is a Matter of too much Concern to be fully considered here, but it is thought some Matters are collecting, which may, perhaps, appear before they are wished for, that may merit Attention. In the above Exhibition many Observations have been made, and several Contradictions shewn in our Author's sixty-eight Pages. His Paper Money Plan has been hinted as impracticable, which will further appear from his own Work, p. 68.
the

the Administrator says, “ the Colonies even
 “ if permitted under the usual Restraints to
 “ trade with the *French* and *Spanish* Colo-
 “ nies, are incapable of creating Silver
 “ Currency sufficient for the internal Cir-
 “ culation and external Trade and Com-
 “ merce.

P. 70. “ If, instead of prohibiting the
 “ Colonies from making Paper Money, the
 “ Government would form a precise and
 “ adequate Knowledge of the Nature of
 “ Money, whether Paper or Silver, and
 “ fix some general Rules for the Colonies
 “ in this Point, *there could not be a more be-
 “ neficial Measure taken for the Welfare of
 “ the Colonies, or the Interest of the Mother
 “ Country.*”

The Author of this Pamphlet, in p. 72
 to 109, has given us several sensible Con-
 siderations on Paper Currency as follows:
 “ That in Colonies, the Essence of whose
 “ Nature requires a progressive Increase of
 “ Settlements and Trade, and yet who,
 “ from the Balance of Trade with the
 “ Mother Country being against them, must
 “ suffer a constantly decreasing Quantity of
 “ Silver Money; *a certain Quantity of Pa-
 “ per Money is necessary. It is necessary to
 “ keep up the increasing Operations of this
 “ Trade, and these settlements; it is also
 “ necessary, in such Circumstances, to the
 “ equal Distribution and general Applica-*
 “ tion

“ tion of these Benefits to the whole Co-
 “ lonies, which Benefits would otherwise
 “ become a Monopoly to the monied Mer-
 “ chants : *It is prudent, and of good Policy*
 “ *in the Mother Country, to permit it, as it*
 “ *is the surest Means of drawing the Ballance*
 “ *of the Colony Trade and Culture to its own*
 “ *Profit.*”

P. 131. The same Author, speaking of
 Paper Money, says thus : “ let their Mo-
 “ ney Currency be limited within too nar-
 “ row Bounds by a total Prohibition of Pa-
 “ per Money.” If such a notorious Con-
 tradiction will not satisfy the Reader of the
 Absurdity of this Pamphlet, his Attention
 is further requisite to the Advice of this
 mysterious Author upon Trade. P. 119.

“ There does not appear, says he, any Rea-
 “ son why all the Produce of the British
 “ Colonies, which are not the Basis of, or
 “ do not interfere with the British Manu-
 “ factures, “ might not be carried directly
 “ to a British Market at a Foreign Port :”
 “ and why the carrying of Rice to foreign
 “ Ports might not be extended to all Ports
 “ where a British Factory is established—nor
 “ under this Mode of Commerce can any
 “ sufficient Reason upon Earth subsist, why
 “ the Colony Traders should not be per-
 “ mitted to load at these Ports, the Fruits
 “ of Wine, Oil, Pickles, the Produce of
 “ that Country, and also such raw unmanu-

K

“ factured

' factured Produce as would not interfere
 ' with the Manufactures of *Great Britain*,
 ' instead of being obliged to come to *Brit-*
 ' *tain* to buy here, after the Expence of an
 ' unnecessary Voyage, those very Commo-
 ' dities which they might have bought at
 ' British Market, at the Port which they
 ' left. Why not any of these, as well as
 ' Salt, as well as Wines from the Madeiras
 ' and Western Islands? In the same Man-
 ' ner, by the same Law, our Colony Tra-
 ' ders, permitted to carry Sugar, Ginger,
 ' Tobacco, Rice, &c. to such Ports in the
 ' river Weser and Elbe, in the Sound, and
 ' in *Russia*, whereat a British Factory is, or
 ' may be established; why may not (the two
 ' Points of a *British Market*, and the Re-
 ' venue of the Duties being secured) why
 ' may not, I say, these Traders be permitted
 ' to load at these Ports directly for the Co-
 ' lonies, Hemp, Yarn, and such coarse Lin-
 ' ens, as do no way interfere with the Bri-
 ' tish Manufactories?

P. 130, A. " And let their foreign Trade
 " and Navigation be in some measure
 " suppressed." This is not an absolute
 Contradiction like the Author's Money
 Plan—yet extending the foreign Trade of
 the Colonies, which he before advises, is
 a new way of suppressing it. But, in this,
 and some other respects, the Administrator
 has puzzled himself to perplex his Readers,
 or

or he could not have formed a plan to strip the *British* Merchants, those generous benefactors, to the Colonists, the Ship Carpenter, and other Artificers, with the poor Labourer, of their indisputable Rights to the Benefits of their Trade with the Colonies. The Thought of which Plan, however spacious the Prospect of Gain might be, would be detested by every *North American*. But we are called from the Contradictions of the Administration of the Colonies, to an Examination of a Performance just published, intituled, *The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies*; and thought to be wrote by the same Author, perhaps in Extenuation of the Trade of the Colonies to a *British* Market in foreign Nations might be happily adjusted and absolutely reconciled without confining the whole Trade of the Colonies to the Mother Country; why might not we effect this as well as our Polite *French* Neighbours, who, by opening the Ports, and making their ceded Islands free for all Nations, are drawing the Inhabitants from *Canada* and other *English* Settlements, whilst we, by shutting our Ports, and laying Duties upon their Trade and Produce, are driving the few Inhabitants that we have away.

'Tis not the very polite Introduction to the Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies which we are now examining,

that concerns us; but 'tis the commercial Interest, the Trade of Great Britain, from whence its greatest Wealth is derived, that demands the Attention of every good Man in the Nation.

The important Question is, which is the most likely to promote the Population, Culture or Commerce; and cement the Connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country, a Perseverance in levying the Duties lately imposed, and those new ones strenuously recommended to be imposed on them; or an inviolable Continuance of the Rights and Privileges granted the Colonists at the happy Revolution as a Reward for their heroick Services? The Solution of this Question is of infinite more Importance to the *British* Empire, than enlarging upon the value of the new Acquisitions. The Accounts from the few Inhabitants of different Nations who have begun the Population of them, of their Climate, Situation, Soil, and the Probability of what they may be made to produce, would, I should think, be a greater Encouragement to new Settlers, than the Flourishes of a Thousand Regulators who never saw the Country they pretend to describe. Every good Man must wish the Fertility and Advancement of our infant Settlements; that we may be so happy as to people them with industrious Inhabitants which
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are the best and truest Riches of a Country: The greatest Encouragement that can be given to such People to Colonize, will be the Maintainance of the Rights and Privileges of the old Colonies inviolable; for if they are not held sacred, even the poor Cottager will not be prevailed upon to change a tolerable Abode at home for a precarious uncertain Abode abroad; which as soon as he has wore away his life in making it valuable, his Decendants may be forced by taxes to quit, and seek out a new Abode. It is not improbable but this may be the Regulator's View in his Plan of the Stamp Duties—his Suggestion of the greatest Supply of Inhabitants to the new, from the old Colonies, looks too much like it. Though he has not informed us which of the Colonies it is, that can afford to furnish them. Surely he cannot mean the *Massachusetts*; because *Boston*, the Capital of that Province, had, by an Account taken in the Year 1755, above 20,000 Inhabitants, and by an account taken last Year, there was not 17,000 Whites and Blacks, and excepting *Philadelphia*, the Inhabitants of *North America* are greatly decreased by the late War, though none, perhaps, so much as the *Massachusetts*: So that let his Plan be right or wrong, it can never be right to impose Stamp and other Duties on the old Colonies to depopulate them, in order

der to populate the New. Therefore, it is humbly hoped this Scheme of his will not be adopted—and that all Thoughts of Taxation of the Old Colonies will be dropt for the Maintenance of a Standing Army to defend *Canada*, which has a Staple, that is able, and ought in Justice and sound Policy to be made to bear a Duty sufficient to pay the whole Expence of that populous Government, civil and military.

Tho' the Colonists under distressed Circumstances complain for being taxed by the Mother Country, it would be too severe to suppose any of them doth not believe all Acts of Parliament are intended for the good of the whole, or that they are insensible of the kind Intention of the Legislature to promote the Whale Fishery, by taking off the Duty on Whale Fins, yet when it is considered even from the Regulator's own Account, that the Price of Whale Fins is reduced from seven hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty Pounds *per* Ton, and that it is not an Article of use with the Poor, perhaps it may be thought as well able to bear a Duty of one hundred Pounds *per* Ton (without Prejudice to the Whale Fishery) as any one Commodity imported bears the Duty it now pays.

The *North American* Colonists are sensibly affected at the enormous Debt of the Nation—and, with inexpressible Grief, lament their Inability of contributing more
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to the Necessities of their Mother Country, than they have done, and now do.

The Debt they have contracted in the late War, so far exceeds their Ability to discharge, that without considerable Reimbursements, and a Repeal of the Sugar Act, except on foreign Sugar and Spirits, it will not be in their Power to discharge their public Debts, and pay the Debts they owe the *British* Merchants.

The Regulator is mistaken in imagining the Colonists are opulent, even by his own Account;—and notwithstanding the Inhabitants of the Mother Country are grievously taxed, yet considering their Riches, and the Poverty of the Colonists, the Taxes of the latter are so much greater than the Taxes of the former that a poor Ship-master whose Pay is but six pounds *per* Month, and whose other Advantages, without allowing for Accidents, don't make as much more—cannot rent a House in *Boston* equal to his Station under Twenty Pounds *per Annum*, and pays moreover Fifteen Pounds public Tax, besides a Duty, and Excise on all Spirituous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Lemons, &c. &c. This is fact; and yet the merciful Regulator, besides the Duties that were laid by Parliament, last Year, on the above Articles, and that of 3*d* *per* Gallon on Molasses, one of the most profitable Branches of the Colony Trade, which costs
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but 6d. has racked his Soul to torture them with Stamp Duties, though they are diametrically opposite to his own Doctrine: *That the Mother Country ought upon all occasions, as far as the Exigency of the State will allow, to ease the Colonies of Taxes on their Consumption, and give Encouragement to their Produce*, p. 69. This Hypothesis confounds all his Arguments in Favour of Colony Duties: and, sanguine as he is in his Hopes, that it will be in the Power of Government to restore Things to their old Situation, if he don't find it easier to plunge the Colonists into confusion, than to re-instate them. Any one may believe his plausible Story; especially when he persuades the Colonists into the use of such large Quantities of *India* commodities as were used before the Duty.

The Regulator, p. 78, to prove that *New England* Rum on the coast of *Guinea* was preferred, says, British Spirit sold for a Half-penny *per* Gallon more—and then avers, much more Money is gained at 2s. and 1d. Half-penny, than by 2s. and Two-pence *per* Gallon—he says, that Three-half-pence *per* Gallon was the Expence of smuggling Molasses—and though it is probable he had been informed, that paying a Duty of less than three Farthings *per* Gallon has saved many thousand Hogsheads from Seizure, yet these Assertions are too much

much to reconcile with his impracticable Duty on Molasses, p. 123. Therefore, how peremptory and earnest he may be in Favour of his Three-penny Duty on Molasses, he will find it so impracticable that the Expence to secure the Payment of it will greatly exceed the Duties after they are collected. One of the pernicious Consequences of the Molasses Duty in the Year 1733, was the depreciating Paper Currency in the *New England* Colonies, to the great Prejudice of the *British* Merchants, the Exchange rising from 300 to 450 *per Cent.* in one Year after the Act commenced. And however light the Three-penny Duty may be thought, the Fishermen and Mast-men in particular, and the Trade of the whole Continent in general, will be greatly affected by it—and the Trade of the Mother Country will be greatly hurt without reaping any Benefit.—But the Duty is a political Regulation, he says, that is to secure the Navigation of all *American* Exports and Imports to *British* Ships and *British* Subjects only. Trading with the Mother Country—which Policy, 'tis possible, against 150 Years Experience, may not be found to turn out as he flatters himself it will.

The *Holland* Trade to *America* has ever been condemned, except by the Smuglers, as injurious to their own, as it is likewise

to that of the Mother Country—and the Permission of entering and clearing Ships from *Holland* at the *Orkneys*, has been long spoke of as a pernicious Indulgence.

The compulsive Clause in the last Sugar Act, touching the North American Lumber, is incomprehensible—because if the Colonist could supply every Region with Boards, Staves, and other Sorts of Lumber, it would be of infinite Advantage to the Mother Country.

That the Surprise of the Regulator may vanish, he is informed the Reason of the small Exportation of foreign Linens to the Colonies -is, the great Use of Irish and Scotch Linens introduced there, which are better esteemed.

Every good Man agrees with the Regulator in the Necessity of destroying all illicit Trade—but no one can imagine any such Sum as seven hundred thousand pounds value in Teas was annually run into the Colonies—and though Smugglers deserve severe Treatment, yet, considering some have been too severely punished by Judges of the Admiralty-courts.—His Opinion is right in Opposition to that of a Great Practitioner, who is for prosecuting in that court, by an Advocate appointed from *Great Britain* with a Salary, &c. “And was it not for the Precedent established already by some of the Laws of Trade, I should doubt

doubt the consistency of the Measure, with the general Principle of Liberty, as established in Trials by a Jury in the common law courts."

But this fallacious Regulator, obstinately bent on his Stamp Act, though obliged to acknowledge the complaints against the Impositions of the Molasses Act passed in the Year 1733, and the Objections to the Policy of the Law, will yet have it, that the Right of making such Law has never been questioned. It has been hinted in the Preface, how the Sugar Act was obtained, after having been twice rejected by the House of Lords, agreeable to the Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General; the Right also of making that Act has been hinted at, and it is thought no Man can believe the Regulator, who compares the above Facts with his Assertions.

The Four and Half *per Cent.* Duty imposed on the Produce of the Sugar Islands (the Island of *Jamaica* excepted, which refused and never paid it) was, and always has been, for the Support of the civil Government. The North American Governments ever have, and now do support their Government, by taxing the Inhabitants.—Therefore this fallacious Precedent is nothing to the Point, nor doth it give the least colour of Justification for imposing a Stamp Duty, any more than the Obedience

of the Colonies to the Post-Office Act does to that, which was at first, and has ever since been esteemed a greater and cheaper Conveniency than they could have established by any Law of their own making; so that had the Colonies complained they would have been justly reproached with Tenaciousness; as they did not, it is very unfair to make a Handle of their Obedience to their Prejudice by exposing them to such Taxes.

But that the Regulator, (p. 108,) should Assert, " That the Colonies are represented in Parliament, and not chuse one Member of that Assembly, is paradoxical enough."

'Tis true, that nine tenths of the People of Britain are not Electors, but that the Right of Election is confined to particular Franchises and certain Species of Property, &c. Of course then they who have no Votes are only represented as Part of the Grand Community, because the Wisdom of Legislature has thought proper to settle the Right of Voting as it now stands; but why are the North Americans to be put upon a level with those who have no Votes? Why have they not an equal Right to Representation with them who do really send members? the Merchants of London do not chuse Members of Parliament as Merchants, nevertheless are they particularly represented as making a great Part of that City and Corporation which sends four Members to Parliament—the Regulator seems to argue thus; " because the East India Company sends no Members, the Colonists ought not:" Now it is fact that many of the Directors are actually in Parliament; but where are the Members of Provincial Assembly that are?

are? Shall a Committee of Men, perhaps at most not exceeding twenty-four, contain among it five or six Parliament Men, and not a single one be permitted for all America. But he seems to rest the Strength of his Argument upon this bare Assertion of his own, which he would have looked upon as an Axiom, viz. "That because the whole Kingdom is virtually represented in Parliament, no Part of it is actually." This, however, every one, at first Sight must acknowledge to be false; nay, the Regulator himself does, when he says, "the Right of Electing is confined to certain Franchises, &c." and are not they then, who have this particular Right, particularly represented? By what Right else does any Member sit in the House, but as the Person to whom his Constituents have entrusted and deligated all their own Power and Interest; If Boroughs, &c. elect their own particular Members for particular as well as general Ends, why may not the Americans? Shall Old Sarum that has not an Inhabitant residing in the place send two Members to Parliament, and all the American Colonies North and South, which contains more than two Millions of Inhabitants, be debarred from a single Representation? Shall the Colonies who are incorporated be denied a Representation, which has been offered to Leeds, &c. and refused? What have the Americans done to forfeit their Birth-right? Why are they exempted from taxing themselves by their own Consent in Person or by Deputation? Surely it cannot be, because it is above said, (p. 109.) "None are actually," all are virtually represented in Parliament; and again, (p. 111.) "few
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“ of them are actually” represented in the House of Commons. In (p. 67.) the Author doubts, “ How far even the Supreme Government of the Mother Country can, consistently with general liberty, proceed in laying Taxes on it’s Colonies, where the Consent of the People cannot in any constitutional Way be taken !” These palpable Absurdities ought and must convince the Public, zealous as the Author pretends to be for their good, that he is not so, but that for some sinister End he is so strenuous for Stamp and other Colony Duties, which he knows to be incompatible with their Constitutions ; therefore it is most humbly hoped, that, though the circumstances of the Nation be so pressing, the Thoughts of Colony Duties will be given up, at least till they have a Representation in Parliament.

Here, says Mr. Otis, in his Proofs of the Rights of the Colonies, (p. 56,) “ can there be any Liberty where Property is taken away without Consent ; can it with any Colour of Truth, Justice or Equity be affirmed, that the Northern Colonies are represented in Parliament. Has this whole Continent of near three thousand Miles in length, (in which and his other American Dominions, his Majesty has or very soon will have, some Millions of as good, loyal, and useful subjects, white and black, as in the three Kingdoms) the Election of one Member of the House of Commons.”

I have now transcribed, considered, and compared the most material Arguments for and against Colony Duties (recommended and enforced with such superlative sophistry) with Mr.

Mr. Otis's Proof of the colonies Rights, and again with Mr. Dummer's learned and judicious Defence of the New England Charters; and, upon the whole find, the Administrator and Regulator's Plan of colony Duties, if carried into Execution, will be attended with so many Difficulties and ill consequences to the Trade of the Mother country and her colonies, that if the sum proposed could be collected without any expence, it would be best to give them over, because it will bear no proportion to the Injuries it will create to the Trade of the Nation in general.

The real and substantial Interest of the Mother Country does most certainly depend upon the Commercial Interest, Multiplication of industrious Subjects, Consumption of Manufactures and Supply of those Commodities, which she wants and may have from her Colonies; and by that means make their interest, the Cement and Perfection of their Connection. These are the great Ends which all Men of Patriotic Principles have in View, the arduous Point to which all their Objects ought to tend. Had these been the Views of the Author of the Administration of the Colonies, it is thought, as Mr. Otis's Assertion and Proofs of their Rights were published time enough, he would have done better if he had replied to them, than he did by Printing his Regulations; because, as the Case now stands, his general Arguments are and must be esteemed confuted.

The Colonies do now, as Mr. Dummer said more than forty years ago, Ask nothing but Justice; though as their Circumstances require the Royal Grace it is most humbly hoped it will
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be extended to them in the full and free enjoyment of their Charter Privileges, which were granted as Premiums for services to be performed, and therefore ought and ever will be esteemed and considered as Grants for a valuable Consideration. Whereas the Corporations and Franchises of this Kingdom were Acts of Grace given upon Improvements already made, and will ever be esteemed such. The Connections between the Mother Country and her Colonies is illustrated, in Mr. Dummer's Defence of the Charters, by the Fable of the Belly and Members. It would be unreasonable, he observes, for the Belly to grudge the Labour of digesting the Food and dispensing the Blood and Jucies to the extreme Parts, seeing they return it purified and exalted in the Circulations. There is a close Analogy between the natural Body and the Body Politic; as in the one a Finger can't ach, but the whole Body feels it, so in the other, the remotest Plantation can't decay but the Nation must suffer by it.

The only Interest of the People is to thrive and flourish in their Trade, which is also the true Interest of the Crown because that reaps the Profit of it.

The Interest of Governors is not only distinct from that of the Crown but extremely prejudicial to it.

The Trade of a young Plantation is like a tender Plant, and should be cherished with the fondest care; if it meets with the very rough Hand of Oppression, it will soon die; the proper Nursery for this Plant is a free Government, where the Laws are sacred, Property secure, and Justice not only impartially, but expeditiously distributed;

distributed; because the Merchant will not expose his Estate to the Seas, Enemies, and other Accidents, if, after all, he cannot secure it at Home from Rapine and Violence. Therefore whatever injures the Trade of the Plantations must, in Proportion, affect Great Britain, the Source and centre of their commerce, from whence they have their Manufactures, whither they make their Returns, and where all their Superlucration is lodged. The Blow then may strike the Colonies first, but it will come Home at last, and fall heaviest upon ourselves. (See Dummer's Defence New England Charters.)"

Therefore let us avoid the Danger, and pursue the above salutary Maxims, for the Adoption of these has turned a Desert into a populous country, and extended the real and substantial Interest, the Trade and Navigation, from whence the greatest Wealth and Power of the British Nation is derived. These Maxims strictly adhered to, the Colonists will continually multiply and encrease, not only their Inhabitants and the consumption of British Manufactures, but the Production of Hemp, Pot-Ash, and various other important Staples, which the Mother country is obliged to buy with cash of Foreigners for her Manufactures, Navy, &c.

But the Adoption of different Maxims and Regulations of commerce, it is much feared will rather suppress than promote Trade, and disunite instead of cementing and perfecting the necessary connection between the colonies and their Mother country, and will besides answer no one good Purpose under Heaven. For the immediate consequences will be Ruin to Trade, Poverty to the People, and Destruction to the British Ma-

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nufactures, the North Americans being hereby forced to make their own cloathing or go naked; for the British Merchants will not trust them when their Trade is ruined; Necessity is the Mother of Invention; and against it there can be no Law made. Therefore every Man who is sincerely interested in these grand Concerns, will advise the Pursuit of Mr. Dummer's Maxims, as the only unerring Principles which can afford and cement mutual Love and Dependence, more especially if we consider what perfidious and dangerous Neighbours we have both in the French and Spaniards, who are at all times Vulture like, hovering over to make a prey of us. It is therefore not to be doubted, but that every plan will be avoided which has even the most distant prospect or remote Tendency towards creating Discontent or Uneasiness either at home or in the Colonies, and every one pursued, that tends to Union and Harmony, and the Encouragement of Trade, that especially which will afford an Increase to the Revenue, and Ease to the Poor. The Importation of Salt-fish, as has been hinted before from North America, being established, will not only yield a speedier, but a much greater Revenue, than the Molasses, Stamp, and all other American Duties, without any additional Expence in collecting, besides the double Advantage which will ensue in the Reduction of Wages, and Consumption of Manufactures.

The Regulations and several Taxes here proposed, are ready to be explained, and others pointed out, which it is thought may prove most salutary, especially as the Colonists are too young to bear much, and not old nor strong enough to perfect

perfect the Staples of Pot-Ash, &c. without the Assistance of Bounties, with these Advantages, they will be able soon to bring the Ballance of trade now against us with the Northern Nations in our Favour, to which the prohibition of building any more Ships there for British subjects will largely contribute. In fine, every Impediment to the Growth of American produce and Trade ought to be removed, and every plan pursued tending to perpetuate and increase the Benefits of the Colonists which can no other way be effected than by adopting that approved old Maxim which is allowed the best, of preserving every thing upon the same principles by which it was at first formed.

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